

0 Anti-Machiavell: 000-2

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OR,

HONESTY

Nesham

AGAINST

POLICY.

An answer to that vaine discourse,
The case of the Kingdome stated,
according to the proper interests of the se-
verall Parties engaged.

By a Lover of Truth, Peace, and Honesty.

CIC. OFFIC. Lib. 3^{tie}.

*Quicquid honestum idem utile; Nec utile quicquam quod
non honestum.*



Printed in the Yeare, 1647.

Am-Marchival

HONESTY

POLICY

It is the duty of every man to be honest and to follow the path of truth and honesty.

The path of truth and honesty is the path of honor and glory.

CIC. OFFIC. E. H. 10

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Printed in the Year 1847

To the conscientious Reader on all
Parties, Royalist, Presbyterian, Independent,
or Citizen.

THere came abroad the last week a glorious Pamphlet, boasting it selfe in the Front, as a Piece of rare observation, and contexture. This Pamphlet hath cast this Nation into foure Pieces, or Parties, and undertakes to shew them their severall interests, having first by way of Preface bespoken them all severally. His addresse to the King, is arrogant. To the Presbyterian, scornfull. To the Independent flattering. To the Citizen carnall; to all, Machivillian (ne dicam) Atheisticall. For, he tels the King, that he that delivers him this Pamphlet ought to be esteemed as good a friend as any he hath been acquainted with this seven yeares, and that all his old Councell would not represent the Kings interest so clearely as these poore sheets, which yet are but gleanings of observation. An high Elogy of himselfe, and his owne worke, that his gleanings should containe more then the vintage of all the Kings Councell, that were thought to out-wit the Parliament, when all the wit, and wisdom of Presbyterians, and Independents were consentred in it. This great boast of himselfe in the booke, leades me to thinke, that the glorious Title in the Frontis-piece; A piece of rare observation and Contexture, was an Elogy bestowed on the Author by himselfe. wherein I am sure, he neither kept to the rule of Morall prudence given by ^a Cato, nor ^a Nec te laudabimur by ^b Solomon; but if his work deserve it, I will not envie ^a dabis, &c. ^b Prov. 2, 2.

1. For his scorn of the Presbyterian, his manner of expression, as well as the matter, doe evidence it clearely, as in other places they doe his bitterness, but I must remember him, that neither scorn, nor bitterness against brethren, are fruits of the Spirit.

2. The Independent he flatters, as those that are lifted more immediately under the Prince of Peace, and the wise, and com-

To the courteous Reader.

fels them not to begin a warre for their interest, but to be on the defensive, till &c. But this Independent, what is he? Independent is a collective word. There be many strange creatures list themselves under this colour. There be seekers that deny all Ordinances and Churches, There be some above all Ordinances, There be Anti-Scripturists, Anti-Trinitarians. There be that hold the doctrine of the Arminians, the Socinians, and what not, that hath beene broacht by any under the visard of Christianity: all these list themselves under the name of Independencie. Are all these more immediatly listd under Christ? The wise? If not heer's worse then flattery in this courting language. But when he bids them not begin a Warre but remaine on the defensive, this must have a further reach, and must intend the Army; for what war or defence else can the Independent party make? Now the Army sin the Votes of that authority to disband it, that raised it: can justly be lookt upon under no other notion, but as a mixt body cemented together, with the humane mortar of interests. Acted by an Independent intelligence or spirit; whereby the independent is enabled to make warre if he please, or to defend himselfe against any, and be terrible to any single party that opposeth him. But let mee question this counsellour, how he can make out this counsell, to hold good plea in the Court of Conscience? For this Independent strength cannot remaine thus on the defensive and subsist, de proprio of its owne. To subsist de alieno, of what is anothers, they have now neither authority, nor for the generall consent of the proprietary. Now can this be justified, that any Party to mainetaine its private interest, should mainetaine it selfe on the publicke, or on any private mans propriety, against his will; is not this vivere ex rapto? His second advice is good, if it be as sincere as earnest, that above all things they should not be Antiparliamentary, for if this counsel be taken, the authoritie of Parliament will be obeyed, and we shall sodainly have the King at Richmond, Armies dissolved, &c.

4. What can be more carnall, then to tell the Citizens, they cannot flourish, unless they minde onely their peculiar interest, Trade; Are they not Christians as well as Citizens? As Christians, are not they to minde Religion as well, nay before their Trades? And will this hinder flourishing? nay, can they expect to flourish withouts it? or can any thing more conduce to their flourishing?

To the Courteous Reader.

flourishing? hath not godlinesse the promises of this life, and that which is to come. and that not al things be cast in to him that seeks first the kingdom of God and the righteousness thereof? Sure here the man forgot his Bible; and yet we have another chip of the same block, in his addresse to all together; Where 5. He tells them from the observation of the Duke of Rohan, touching the successes of the States of Europe, according as they followed, or declined their interest. Those Parties now on foot in this Kingdom, must looke to stand or fall upon the same ground. Must looke? What then hath God no hand in affaires to crosse the cunning contrivances of men. to take the wise in their owne devices? Was Solomon mistaken, Eccles 9. 11. when he tels us, The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, nor yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding? &c. What if a man decline his interest for conscience? seeing such a thing would advance his interest, but its under a prohibition, and therefore dares not make use of it. Must he looke to faile in his enterprise? Sure then he looks onely with an eye of sence, and reason: not of faith, for the promise will tell him, that if a man deny interest, and commit his way unto the Lord, he will bring it to passe, Psal. 37. 5. and what the Word saith; the Christian may, nay, ought to looke for. There is therefore a two fold declining of interest, the one of ignorance, or negligence, or evill conscience. The other conscientious denying his interest to keep in Gods way, he that is indeed guilty of the former can looke for nothing, but miscarriage. But he that practiseth the latter; sith power belongs to God, and successes are in his hand, and he hath annext the promise to those that approve themselves to him. He hath never more cause to looke for good successe, then when he declines interest for him, for then he honours him most, and pleases him best. This none can deny, unlesse misled by Atheisticall Policie, of which this passage therefore to the whole is justly accused to smell ranke. Thus for the Preface, now to the Book.



Anti-Machiavell,

O R

Honesty against Policie.

THe chiefest interest of a Christian is to keep God his friend, which he that neglects, all his counsels, though as deep as *Achitophels*, will end in folly. It was subtilty eyeing interest that made *Jeroboam* set up, and *Jehu* hold up the Calves at *Dan* and *Beisbel*, but this their following interest against rule, was the ruine of both their houses. This therefore is a standing rule for all that professe God, *Prov. 10. 9. He that walks uprightly, walkes securely: but hee that perverteth his wayes shall be known.* Now to walk uprightly includes two things; first, to walke rightly; a man cannot be compleatly upright, but he must be right, rightnesse, regularitie is the *basis*, the *materiall* of uprightnesse: to which secondly is to be added, the *formall*, to doe that which is right on right grounds, and for right ends. Now he that by the byasse of interest, leaves this path of integrity, forsakes his owne safety, and runs upon shutes and precipices, that will in the end destroy and deceive whatever they promise; and therefore for a Christian, and one that assumes the highest degree to himself, to be more immediately lifted under Christ, to hold forth interest, unlesse he make it out, that the way is right too, is most unfutable. For its to hold forth a bait or lure to draw out of the right way of serving God, to serve our selves.

For a man to observe what under God conduceth to the advancing of his affaires, and that to follow *usq;* *ad aras* is prudence

to

to be practised, but for a man to look at interest without consideration of right, is directly contrary to that self-deniall, which is the cognizance of Christs Disciples, and the proper Character of Machivilian, which this Author seems to doe not only in many particular passages, but in the generall rare contexture of the whole. The Duke of Rohan (whom he cites) tels us that the French Kings interest is to maintain the Protestant Religion, though he were a Papist. The Duke of Rohan was a Protestant and judged, the French King did ill in professing Popery, but well in upholding Protestancy; but no man that approved his Religion as good, but if he were conscientious must condemn his maintaining a contrary Religion for State interest, as unlawfull and so to be abandoned. But now let us see how he mannaiges his discourse of interest in which no doubt but there will be *aliquid grande*, for they say in this Theam of interests, either for theory or practice, his party need not yeeld the palme to any sociery in Christendome; and truly the Independent interest is notably acted in this Booke, which is but a dramaticall representation of Independency, which is here set forth, painted with wit and words, crying out, *Who is on my side, who?* may represented so glorious, that all sides must wooe her, as though none can stand or flourish without her friendship.

Touching the Kings Interest.

THe King (he saith) as the case lately stood with him was a very prisoner. And what is he now? may he goe whether he pleases, if so, then I hope we shall shortly see him at White-hall; but if not, he hath onely changed his place, not his condition.

His first worke now is, to remit the height of his designe, and sith the spleen of his adversaries hath done that for him which Machiavell makes a sure principle toward purchase of Empire; his part is to sit still and blow the fire, &c. This is polliicy indeed, but is this honesty, to blow the fire of contention between his owne? should a Father doe so to his Children though undutifull to him? Is not a King *Pater patriæ*? should he not rather study to quench this flame, prevent sin? hereupon onely taking occasion, to perswade them to yeeld him his right, sith there is a blast upon them in their conjunction against him, and so wait upon God to give

Divide & impera, Divide and rule.

in their hearts, not doing evill that good may come thereof. After the fire of contention hath burnt so hot, that they must rest in a third: The King is to looke to that party that gives most hope of indulgence to his Prerogative, and greatest probability of favour to his friends; so still selfe, and friends must be the rule of actions, let them be never so blasphemous to God, yet indulgent to Monarchy, they must be embrac't; had the King ever worse Counsellors, or greater parasites of Prerogative? But neither of these can be from the Presbyterian; not indulgence to Prerogative. Why? because he sayes (but without shew of truth,) That Presbyteriall governments derogates not only from
 * civill government in generall, but carries with it a more speciall enmity to Monarchy, they are incompatible; a greivous accusation, that needs be backt with good reason, but here is none at all: This is but an Arrow out of Machiavels quiver, Calumnies are audacter aliquid harebit, Slander audaciously something will sticke. Turne O Lord, I pray thee, this counsell of Achitophels into foolishnesse. Next he tells us, *Politique Observations in this kinde, should be strengthened out of History, and thence takes occasion of venting all scorn and spight in the highest degree on the way he opposeth, as though he loved all devouring words; There is nothing (saith he) in History touching Presbytery of moment to be observed: Why? First, its an upstart: What newer than Independency; nay this is newer light sure, for neither name or thing of Independency is to be found till of late dayes; for all particular Congregations in the Apostles time were dependent on, that is, under the jurisdiction of the Apostles that planted them, as appears by St. Pauls Epistles to Corinth; and before the Apostles died, the Congregations were multiplied in great Cities, yet but one Church, as is made apparant out of Scripture, and so under one common government, which whether of a Presbytery, or Bishop, or both; it casts Independency, and so that can looke no higher then the Anabaptists in Germany. Next it hath but litle entertainment in the world, why then it seems its not of the world, as he elsewhere calumniates, but hath it had lesse entertainment then Independency? What considerable part of the Reformed Churches except England and Ireland, but hath entertained Presbytery? and what doth he make of the Princes of Germany, have they little or none of King-*
 ly

* The contrary is apparant out of the harmony of confessions touching the civill Magistrature most of which are from Presbyterians.

ly power? Is Kingly power in the Title, or in Sovereignty under whatever Title? How bold and saucie is this bold Pamphleter untruly to debase the Principalities of Noble Princes, to debase a way he himselfe hates? *But in the Scots Kingdome this Pest is Epidemicall, &c.* Here is bitterness in the highest, both in expression, and matter, wherein he affirms, That in Scotland Presbytery hath turnd the Kings Scepter into a Manacle, and like an Hectique fever consumed the substance of Kingly power. This I shall leave to the Scots to answer, but if this charge bee true, with what conscience could the Independent engage himselfe by Covenant, (as the Major part of them by his confession p. 10. hath) to maintain the Scotch Discipline against the common Enemies, among whom the King and his party must needs be *pars maxima*, if not *sola*, (for the Covenanters combined by this Covenant against him and his force?) Will interest make an Independent ingage to maintain unjust usurpation upon the power of his owne Sovereigne? Truly such objections discover wit to promote a cause, but little honesty in a party.

Secondly having slandered Presbytery in relation to Monarchy, he proceeds to see what he can doe in reference to the Kings party: And here he saith, *The Bishops must have neither name nor substance, and the Gentry must be enslaved in their own Lordships.* For the first, Presbyterians use the Bishops better then the Independents; for its better not to be, then to be Antichristian, which the Independents make them, and all that are under them. Besides what knowes he but upon accommodation the Presbyter may yeeld something to the Episcopall, as they would have done to the Independent, as to keep up Parochiall Presbyteries, and for Appeals have a Presbytery of Ministers in every Shire, whereof one to be president, who may be stiled a Bishop. If the Presbyterian can take *his counsell* to renounce *jus divinum*, then undoubtedly he may yeeld to this expedient, and there is probability enough the Royallist will accept it; and by this the Old form being altered, the Covenant according to the letter will not be infringed: And for the *enslaving of the Gentry by Presbyterie* its false, unlesse this Pamphleteer be of their minds *Psal.* 2. 1, 2, 3. And I would know of this independent, whether if a Landlord and his tenant be in their Church-way, and the Landlord be in question whether the meanest of his Tenants must not be

be his Master in Judicature? And whether that be a mystery of iniquity in their new government? *Turpe est Doctori, &c.* Well, now he concludes, *That the Kings Interest is to close with the Independent*, for which he gives Reasons. 1. *Because they are the only friends to civill government in the world. Credat Judeus appella, non ego.* Are they the best friends to Civill government in the world, that with Papists divest it of all power in Church matters, with whom that derogatory voice of the Old Donatists *quid Imperatori cum Ecclesia*, at least with the Major part of them is good Divinity? Doth he thinke this bare Assertion of his will take with his Majesty, that knowes the rise and progresse of his misery cannot be ascribed to any party in this Kingdome, so much as to the Independent party? For had not they disturbed it (if my intelligence faile me not) the* Parliament had once resolved to have annext 12. grave learned and godly Ministers in every Dioces to the Bishop, that should have so qualified his power, that he should have had no opportunity to Tyrannize, a course if it had bin taken the miseries under which this flourishing Nation lyes in dust and ashes, the dishonours of Religion, and decay of the power of Godlinette occasioned by the Scandall and Distractions of this unnaturall war, and all the disgraces and calamities of the King and his Royall Household had been prevented. For what he alledgech out of the Acts of the Assembly, it doth confute nor confirme his doctrine: For first, *Presbyters* claime only distinction of powers, not exceptions, as the Independent doth. And saith he, *they borrow also from the civill Magistrate power to compell mens consciences*, but this is an odious calumny against the just power, that the Presbyterians ascribe to the Magistrate denied by this Independent, *scil.* to preserve peace, and purity in the Church, to take Order that Blasphemy, heresie be supprest, &c. which power of his he ought to put forth on just occasion, but that this must bee alwayes *when they advise*, or as he maliciously addes, *commands*, the confession hath no Limit. The Magistrate is Arbitrator of his owne actions, and is to proceed in execution according to his owne apprehension. Thus the confession apparantly ascribes power to the civill Magistrate and derogateth not.

Secondly, *its easie for the King to mingle interests with the Independent.* An Independent then may mingle interests with secular

* And for this their own declarations may give some evidence, Aprill 9. 1642.

secular power, though it be a crime in all other reason.

Thirdly, *Because Independency leads them to admit rather of Monarchy, then any other Government*: Sure this is but new light; for the Independents, so farre as I have had acquaintance with them, either by bookes or conference, have been most bitter, not onely against the present King, as farre as deposing or execution it selfe; but against Monarchy, eyeing the States Government of the Netherlands, with their toleration; as an inimitable forme for themselves to aime at: and *his reason* is without sense, and against experience, whereby it is plaine; that *Monarchy* hath nourisht *Episcopacy*, for its owne greater supportment, who have carried an heavy hand over all that intrench upon them, or would have exception from them.

4. 5. *Here is a doore of hope for the Bishops, and their Clergy, with all that are for that Liturgy, which cannot be with Presbyterie trusted with the State, The 5. Reason is in effect the same; that the people that will not be satisfied without the externall forme of Diocesan, and Liturgie. The Independents may helpe to instate them in that forme again, upon some visible assurance, that they themselves will be left at libertie.* First its true ridgid Presbytery is incompatible with Episcopacy; but with the Clergy, that lived under them, that were learned and honest not so; why may not they live under Presbitery, and beare a part in it in England; as well as all learned Ministers do in other reformed Churches? And for Liturgy he cannot make it good, that people will not be satisfied without this Liturgie, so they have a Liturgie; neither is there any incompatibleness between a Liturgie, and Presbytery: I know no Presbyterians that hold a Liturgie unlawfull, many that hold it convenient. Liturgie, and Presbitery, have been consistent in all reformed Churches, and may be in ours; neither (if my information faile me not) was Liturgy expulst by the most grave and Learned Presbyterians in the assembly as unlawfull: but onely to gratifie the Independents, whose abuse of their indulgence, now may bring them to repentance, and a Liturgie may be establisht again, at least to be free for those that need it, and desire it. But how the Independent can helpe to instate the people again in it, without doing evill that good may come thereon, is above my capacity. They reject it as unlawfull, and the major part of them

See the letter of the Wallachian Classes to the Assembly cited in the view of the Directory pag. 43.

having taken the Covenant, stand engaged to keep it out; and for them for any politrique reason to helpe it in again, is to help to set (in their conceits) a plant not of Gods planting, and that with breach of Covenant, which will argue such levity and dishonesty, so to alter against conscience and Covenant for interest; that will make honest men abhorre, and wisemen afraid to associate with them; lest their interest change, for then no bonds will hold them fast in freindship.

In the 4th. Reason he dictates to us an everlasting practise of the Clergy to strengthen themselves, which we must beleeve, because he saith so without prooffe. But one particular is to mingle interests with the State or Prince, &c. which hath been no meane artifice of the Devill. Yet reason third he perswades the Prince to mingle interests with them; so rather then faile, he will use the artifices of the Devill to uphold his Babel.
Flectere si nequeas superos Acheronta movebis?

Last reason is, that *the King by closing with the Independent, may so abate the fury of the Presbyterian, that those of his party excepted from pardon, may at last obtaine the benefit of an Act of oblivion.* Is not here brave and palpable jugling now? as though it were onely the fury of the Presbyterians that hindered the Act of oblivion, or generall pardon; who though they be not altogether to be excused, yet how notorious is it, that none were more averse to any favour to the Kings party, then the Independent, and that upon pretence of conscience; because blood must be expiated by blood, till interest mitigates them, which though it should over-rule passions and humours, yet should give way to conscience; Who knowes not that the *Scots*, the most rigid Presbyterians would have had the propositions lower to gratifie the King? And wherein could they have done that more acceptably, than in favouring his party? which to speak ingeniously he cannot deliver up to suffering in honour, or conscience; but he must asperse the sincerity of his own designs and protestations, wherein they were his assistants. The rest of the Presbyterians therefore may doe well to gratifie the King in this; it may be a meanes to win upon him to gratifie them in matter of Reformation desired, at least to hasten a settled peace, a thing that all (not onely in obedience to the commands of following peace; but from the experience of

of

of the mischievous consequences of war, both civill, and spirituall) should most earnestly thirst after, no visible inconvenience of an Act of oblivion can over-weigh the misery and danger of Church and State for want of it ; if we can either buy truth or peace by an Act of oblivion, he sees little that sees it not a good bargain ; nor need conscience startle. *David* in two civill wars, to end the one, to prevent new broyles after the other shed no more blood, then what the fury of battell drew ; Therefore we have as good warrant for conscience to yeeld to an Act of oblivion for peace, as our Saviour brought to clear his disciples from sabbath-breaking, Matth. 12. *Have ye not read what David did when he was hungry ;* So have yee not read what *David* did when he had civill wars to prevent blood ? He let blood goe unpunished, and yet the case in *David's* warre was unquestionable ; whereas whoever shall consider the practise in our Kingdome, the oathes of Supremacy and allegiance, The Kings pretences and protestations, must needs acknowledge that if there is not enough to oblige all, yet there was so much shew that might draw well meaning men to his party, that sure should incline much to moderation to his party : and thus this reason would be turned against the Pamphleter. I might after his reason call to him for politick observations out of History, to strengthen his assertions touching Independents according to his own direction pag. 1. But alas! search all the Histories of the Church, and you must returne, *a non est inventum*, what need had he then to jeere others ? I hope by this time its cleare there was no reason so to boast his counsell to the King. Honesty in a few words will give more wholesome counsell ; That the King and his party now brought low, would search and try their wayes, and see what was amisse in his cause, or in their carriage ? Whether though he thought the demands unreasonable yet as things stood to prevent blood, he should not have condescended lower ? Whether there were not many miscarriages in prosecution ? And withall to turne from men to God, and see what God hath against them, for abuse of power, eminence, wealth, in oppression, pride, riot ; and whether many under him and them did not suffer like things to those which they now suffer, being driven from house and home, their families scattered, and this for conscience, and sometimes without any

2 Sam. 3. 20;
21. 28.
2 Sam. 14. 22.
23.

against law : And so with Rehoboam and his Princes acknowledge the righteousness of the Lord, humbly before him commit themselves to him ; pray, and waite, and God will without any shifts, or violation of conscience, undoubtedly in due time exalt him, and those of his, that doe so improve the heauie strokes of God upon them.

And when God hath set him upon his throne, let him exactly observe all his promises, and protestations, for cleaving to the Lawes, promoting true Religion, Justice in all his dealing to his People, declining all shew of revenge ; for so shall he justify his former proceedings, be great in the thoughts and hearts of his People ; and Princes loved for justice, shall never be straited in power.

*Touching the interest of the Presbyterian
and his party.*

Here he tells us, First by way of preface, that *Presbytery was borne at Geneva* ; what doth he think then of that *1 Tim. 4. 14. The laying on of the hands of the Presbyterie*, was that spoken by way of anticipation ? As the Anti-sabbatarians say of *Gen. 2. 23. &c.* Or was he named before he was borne ? When born he was nurst up in the desires of many in England and whereas men use to be disaffected to the settled Government, either out of envie, or conscience ; he willingly allows for good reason the Presbyters, who reckon themselves for the old Puritans of England ; so much right as to think their disaffection proceeded moortly from a conscience well informed. The first and onely good word that ever he allowed Presbyters. Well yet we will not forget it, if he doe not ; But yet he would have them to know they are not come to mount Zion, till they be able to prove the chaire of a generall assembly the very throne of Christ. This is a bare mysticall assertion, which I understand not the sense of, and he gives no reason for ; therefore let it passe. And except they shew all the lineaments of their Government from Scripture, it will fright conscience, and be disclaimed as a Monster ; But this is more then ever the Independents did yet : You know what promises, what expectations of a modell of your new way, hath been from your *Corybath* the

the dissenting brethren in the Assembly, but all in vain; surely if your babe were so fully and clearly framed there, the birth would not be so difficult nor so delayed. But the reason is pretty, it will be disclaimed, *unlesse it have all the lineaments out of Scripture, for the discipline now contended for is (as the Bishops was) but externall, prudentiall, &c.* sure this inference is more ridiculous then the Presbyters plea for *jus divinum*; But he goes on affirming, *that Presbytery if rigidly prest, would open a farre wider gap for Tyranny then Episcopacy*; all discipline must be tyrannie with this Pamphleter; but doe not, have not the reformed Churches in *France, Germany, Netherlands*, lived under Presbytery without any such complaint of tyranny? shall not their experience more secure us, then this mans Sophismes feare us, yet further to shew this is spoken rather to raise an *odium* then out of any just fear, let all know what this man cannot be ignorant of, that upon accommodation the Independents were offered; at a Committee for accommodation an exception from all Presbyters, Clarks, Synods &c. whereof (saith he) *if they could prove one Scripturall: it were honest to bandy against men of different judgements*; why doth not this man know, that the learned among them confesse a *jus divinum* for a Synods. But the more the Presbyter indeavours to assert a *jus divinum* with a compulsive power the more hee looseth both parties. Mens opposition prejudiceth not a good title in spirituall things, sith through corruption many times the better they be, the more opposed. But hence he infers, *the Presbyterians interest to allow them their Church-way, to esteeme them as brethren, and not to make difference in circumstantialls a ground for persecution*. First ther's none more willing to a brotherly accommodation then my selfe, nor more willing to imbrace any as a brother in whom there is *aliquid Christi*, nor more backward to lay heavie burthen for light matters; *ipse malignarus miseri succurrere disco*. But to suffer one to act to the destruction of anothers standing, that's not tollerable. To suffer them in their Church-way, where they live together, I should never oppose; but to suffer them to gather Churches out of our Churches, as it hath no warrant in Scripture, (our Churches being acknowledged as true Churches) so it is not tollerable, being destructive, or at least greatly distractive to us in our

* Burroughs
Iren. cap. 7.
pag. 43.

our way. Yet better tolerate that, then raise a new war to hinder it, (nothing being so destructive, or distractive to Religion as civill war :) but if so that grosse Hereticks destroyers of the Faith be excepted, they deny us to be Churches, making us *Babylon*, exclaiming against our Churches, and Ministers, as Antichristian ; here they begin persecution, for I hope this man knowes ther's persecution of the tongue, as well as of the hand, and the wounds of the tongue pierce sharply, and dangerously ; and if such come under censure, I shall never account it persecution, but just discipline, *But its as much madnesse saith he to prosecute men because unlike us in opinion: as for unliknesse in outward complexion.* Is it madnesse to prosecute men because unlike us in opinion ; what is more contrary to plaine scriptures then this ? doth not Saint *Paul* prosecute men for difference in opinion, *Rom.* 16, 17, 18 ? and *Gal.* 5. 12. What were they prosecuted for, even to delivering up to Satan, (more dreadfull I hope then any prison) but for corrupt opinions ? *Revel.* 2. 20. Why is *Thyatira* checkt, but for suffering corrupt opinions ? Is not this assertion also as much against reason as Scripture ? are opinions as naturall or unavoidable as complexions ? are they as harmlesse to the party, or to those with whom they converse ? are not some opinions damnable, *2 Pet.* 2. 1. and so need discipline, to preserve the erroneous ? *1 Cor.* 5. 5. with *1 Tim.* 1. 20. are not opinions apt to spread and taint others, *their words eating like a canker* ? What is there not need then of discipline, to prevent infection ? can this be said of complexions, are any of them damning ? are they infectious ? And is not false doctrine called leaven, *Mat.* 16. 6. 12 ? And is it not as apt to leaven as vice ; nay more, and those of better quality, as we see in experience ? see *2 Pet.* 2. 2. and then is not the Apostles reason *1 Cor.* 5. 6. as strong to proceed against the erroneous, as against the vicious ? For his reason *that since the Fall, all divine knowledge is an influence of heaven upon the soule ; and therefore if any understand better then other, free grace puts the difference, and so we are to looke upon them as deplorable, rather then damnable.* I answer though free grace be the chiefe cause of divine knowledge ; yet our own industry in use of meanes, is subordinate to that *Proverb.* 2. 2, 3, 4. And so we are neither to neglect meanes to beget knowledge, or reclaim

2 Tim. 2. 17.

reclaim errors, one of which is censures, *1 Tim. 1. ult.* nor in censures do we looke on men as *damnable* but to be pittied, and therefore apply censures as Medicines to cure, not to destroy.

His second reason is, *Because the designe of conformity and uniformity in the Church is a ground whereby the Devill makes men run a madding, &c. its the nurse of division, its against common sense to expect every man will be of the same opinion, &c.* For answer, 1. To tolerate nothing, and to tolerate all things are two extreame, betweene which there is a golden meane, not to indure a man that differs from us in circumstantiall, though peaceable in his carriage, is unchristian tyranny; on the other side, to suffer what destroyes the faith, is to be cruell to our selves, while we are indulgent to others, and to desert the faith which we are to contend for, and suffer the drawing of men into perdition, which in charity and office, all christian officers are bound to preserve. 2. There is difference between dissenting in judgement, from what is by authority establishd, and acting against it, not only in our personall acts, but in with-drawing others from it, and depraving it; not to suffer the former in matters not fundamentall, were too much austerity: to tolerate the latter were to much lenity, and the way to confusion. 3. As it is an extreame to thinke *men ought to make all men walke in the way which ministers cry up for right*: so it is an insolence deserves censure, by any disgracefull waies, as this Pamphleter doth to withdraw people from that due reverence and obedience that the Holy Ghost requires of them to their Ministers, *1 Thes. 5. 11, 12. Heb. 13. 17.* for crying fire from heaven against brethren in the faith, I know none guilty of it, if I did, I should sharply reprove them, but hope this Pamphleter knows many cover themselves under the name of Independency, that hold opinions destructive to the faith, those all ought to oppose in their owne sphere.

3. *Oppression makes wise men mad*, but just and deserved censure is no oppression, though it may be esteemed so with men, yet * not with * *Rom. 5. 34.* God. Secondly, I hope with Saints tribulation will bring forth patience, &c. else they will make but sorry Martyrs, neither will they I hope be led by interests but by rule, else they are unfit followers for Christ, *Mat. 16. 24.* 4. *If a rigid course be prosecuted, and a breach made betwixt those who (for the Major part) be one by solemn Covenant the whole scandall will retort on the Presbyter.* Ans. 1. They have the Art to cry whore first, 2. For rigidnes its never comely among brethren, but if according to the former rules, course be taken against revilers of

establisht order, and desertors of the faith, not the inflictors but the sufferers will be the evill doers, for his answer to the objection of covenanting uniforme Reformation, *That the Covenant in its extent is limited by the word of God.* I answer, this man counts that uniformity of Reformation, is a thing without any footing in the Word of God: so it makes him covenant a *non-sense* which asperles this man and his party, as well as others for taking it. 2. His interpretation with the application makes the covenant a nose of waxe, to bend to every mans fancy, and so rather a combination of all sorts against an enemy, then an ingagement to any to promote uniform Reformation. Lastly, he layes down the benefits of a moderate condescension in the Presbyter, as that which crosses new designs in the Independent, and insinuations of the Royall party, for a moderate condescension (as I have limited it,) I hope all Presbyters will subscribe to, (though no benefits accrue) out of charity to brethren, and for a boundlesse toleration, let some irregularly force it, or others timorously yeeld it, yet every conscientious Presbyter, I hope will witness against it. The conclusion is, *That its the sole interest of the Presbyter to counter-work the King, and to count all rigid Presbyterians of what robe soever very Malignants, that fulminate against our fast friends, as Hereticks and Schismaticks.* But who be these fast friends, Independents? the following Interest will give us but little encouragement to thinke so, if any call those Schismaticks and Hereticks which are not so, as Independents may be and many are free from both, they deserve sharp checks, but that there are such things as Schismaticks and Hereticks is apparant in Scripture, that some of those that shrowd themselves under the name of Independents are such, is as apparant likewise, and why we should count him a Malignant that calls a *spade a spade*, I yet see no reason: The truth is, the Presbyterian interest with his duty was in peace, which he should have studied, upon all lawfull condescension to have obtained with the King, but he acted the Independents Interest in crying up the War still, and keeping the King at too great a distance, both in place and tearmes, contrary to his pretences, and prayers, which hath given great and just offence, to the Royallists, and advantage to the Independent, though the Independent were as deep in this transgression as the Presbyterian; but the Independent can vary his principles with his condition, and interest (as hee saith here) in reason third, and so hath gone beyond the Presbyterian. The Presbyterian therefore, now is to be humbled for neglect, not so much of following interest, as dutie, and study reconciliation with the

the King, and settlement of the nation, and serve God humbly in the best condition he can attaine, and God will not be wanting to his owne way.

Touching the interest of the Independent party.

THis Machivilian Agent hath now bespoken two suiters for his Par amour, that so she may see who offers fairest, and make her choise to best advantage; this is policie indeed, but such as an honest Virgine would not count honesty, to hold two in hand, when she could but answer the expectation of one; but with some men what's politicke, and serves interest, is honest enough. First, he compares his Rivals, and asperes them at pleasure, and then advances his owne Idol above the cloudes. *That the Independent would have the Church a spirituall building, framed of such stones as are chosen out of the World, but founded only on the wisdom of God, &c.* Which is indeed the nature and constitution of the invisible Church of the Elect, but let him shew me such a visible Church-constitution in Scripture; or let him make good that divers of the Churches of Asia did not apparently consist of other members, and let him carry the cause; but if he cannot, his Independent Church so constituted here on earth, is but a Chimzra of his owne braine. Next he tells us againe, *That the Independents leave to all the Magistrate save the Kingdome of Christ.* And so doe the Presbyterians, though he dictate the contrary, *And the Kingdome of Christ being not of this World can be no trouble to it, unlesse his be first troubled.* Heres an exception for them to hold up the Sword against the Magistrate, King, or Parliament, if they doe trouble them. But its a most plain and pernicious addition to the Words of Christ. The scope whereof was, that his servants would not fight, though they were troubled, because his Kingdome was not of this world. Well, Now (sayes he) *Independencie which ownes no policie* (he should say, but what serves her turne) *becomes the ballancing power between them,* that is, by the Armes the Parliament have intrusted them with, and they now hold perforce against it) *now her interest is to close where shee may have most indulgence, and little or no scandall.* A little scandall then she may undergoe for interest, but that may prove a Mill-stone, *Mat. 18. 6.* if she take not heed; and that indulgence bee conceived, may be expected rather from the Episcopall Party; and wherein interest is he must goe; loe what a fast friend the Independent is to the Presbyter.

His Reasons. I. Though principles of Faith should sway Presby-

See Ioh. 6. 36.

lets to brotherly amity, yet by their eagernesse of Discipline, and uniformitie of Letter, neglecting that of the Spirit, &c. they give little hope. What fury doe the Presbyterian show in driving on upon termes of discipline? Its not in acting, that I know, and for procuring settlement. Why may not the Presbyterian be as zealous for his way, as the Independent for his? Wherin doth the Presbyterian sleight the glorious uniformity of Spirit? *Si satis est accusasse, quis erit innocens?* Wherein his eagernesse in uniformity of Letter, hath he not studied accommodation, by all means, though he be against a wild tolleration? And I know not where the *Furnace* is heating for any brethren in the Faith, but in your owne fancies.

Secondly, Setting aside that grosse mixture of Ceremonies, the Episcopall Discipline were more tollerable, because Tyranny cannot be so great in few hands, as many.

Ans^r. That which may be most dangerous in one respect, in another may be more safe, though the hands be more in Presbytery; yet they be, I hope, in your apprehension better, you have not forgot (I hope) what testimony you gave of the evidence of conscientiousness in many of the Presbyterians; pag. 6. Oh, but heres an answer, *If their burden under Presbytery prove fairer, then expectation, that's the goodnesse of their taske-masters, not of the Government; but what if times grow worse?* But what if the skie fall, will you runne a scandalous course for feare of may-bees.

Thirdly, Though the Episcopall Party be enemies to the Independents, yet in regard 1. of the Independents extreame civill usage of victories, 2. may most oblige them in their lowest condition, &c. the unity may be extinguishd. But to the first, men are more apt to remember injuries then courtesies, and so the Royalist may rather remember your * beating them, then your curtesie afterwards. To the second, how can they now most oblige them in their low condition, but by using those Armes intrusted by Parliament, without, and against consent of their trusters, is that honest? Is not this a great, not a small scandall? For the third, *Their interests may stand together, while Bishops are unwholer hatchers*; but when their yokes are gone, what then? Hath not this man told us, interests change with condition? and for their forced assurance, may it not be good, just a little longer then they have force to make it good?

Fourthly, There can be no scandall in it to the Independent, by such an union of interests? Why? The woe of Scandals belongs to them,

* Yet, I thinke this may be truly extused (for they say) The valour of the Ruffian got, and the subtiltie of the Independent moderated Victories gotten (as it appears now) to promote interest.

by whom the grounds of scandal are necessitated. I had thought the woe of scandals had beene to those that give them; and that scandals being such evils, nothing could have necessitated them, *qui mori potest, loqui nequit*, but it seemes Independent interests can change the nature of things; one told a well-willer to Independents, that the Army would joine with the King, he replied, then I will give you my head; will not that friend bee scandalized, thinke you, by this marriage of interests. Your covenant was to bring the Malignants to condigne punishment, who was meant by that you know, (how just it was, let God be judge) but now to joyn with them against whom you covenanted, and against those with whom you covenanted; can it be without scandal? *But that the Presbyter may beare the scandal, the Independent ought not to admit of a breach, till the red Dragon, &c.* Oh! but its like, the Presbyter will not use severitie if he intend it, till the Army is down, and when that is downe, the Independent cannot serve the Royalists turne to demerit their league; and to keep up an Army raised for the publique, for the private interest of one Partie, at so vast a charge, without, nay, against consent of the Parliament, and Kingdome (while they may freely vote) how can this, or any man living justifie?

Lastly he adds a caution, that *the Independent ought not so to respect the Royalist, as to neglect Parliaments, in whose safety liberty is involved, the onely Rampire against all kinds of Tyranny; since all proceedings against them there, are attended by a few whom time will discover.* Do the Independent Army observe this, not to neglect Parliaments? Was not the pretence of the Royalist against the Members of Parliament formerly managed as now, and Members required upon like pretences? But then the Independent as well as others, thought that was destructive to Parliaments, and is it not so now? When Members of as good repute as any, are required to be suspended on a light charge, which can only be for opposition to their designe; is this tender regard to Parliaments? *But now* (that is since the Independents have got the King into their hands) *the Crown of Independent and true Parliamentary interest too* (though Presbyterians draw another way) *is to reconcile the King on such honourable termes, &c.* Here is first a slander on the Presbyterian, as generally against a peace with the King, on honourable termes, when they know the Scot would have had the offer more honourable, and the Independent hindered it; and that against true Parliamentary interest, as here he confesseth, and the truth is, which makes their hindring honourable termes

to the King then, the more inexcusable, because they cross publique for private interests; but let it be whose interest it will, its the duty of all to seeke to reconcile the King upon honourable termes; and (whatever the Independents end is) I shall thanke them for it when I see it; but if their juggling prosper with them long, I have lost my aime.

Touching the City Interest.

First her greatnesse is graphically described, as rising from riches acquired by free trade, her onely interest, hence shee is stily accused of arrogance, which he saith, is heightned of late by her vast contributions, &c. therefore the man is in feare lest this huge Animal become rampant, unlesse he make her a bridle of some considerations; as first what they did was not by their own strength and riches, but as receiving authority from Parliament, &c. This is true (and me thinkes) its a bit that may well fit the mouth of the Independent Army grown rampant to use his phrase by its intrusted power.

Secondly, though the Citizens pretend Religion to be the only necessary appendix to their trade, &c. and doe not you thinke so too, sure else you will confirme us in it, that you are a pure Machivilian) Yet if they looke into the Scriptures more narrowly, and the practise of their priests they may learn, the scope of their State Divinity is only to drive a trade, &c. Here is pure spleen and malice, casting upon men as good as himself or any of his, aspersions of the basest and most wicked alley; which have no ground, but in his owne uncharitable heart, and corrupted fancy: is this his glorious unity of the spirit? is this suitable to that confest truth wrested from him, that the impression of glory in many of their practises, made him judge that they embraced Presbytery out of conscience? this scandall is so foule and false, that the honest Citizens, will rather detest his booke, then suspect their godly Ministers for the suggestion in it.

His third consideration, is of the same ally with the second, onely uncharitable, and groundlesse surmises; who of us observe any other distinction betweene ministers and people, then Scriptures set forth, see 1 Thes. 5. 11, 12. Heb. 13. 17. Revel. 1. ult. The stars are the Angels of the Churches: doe we deny brotherhood with our people? what a false insinuation is that? will he make such a brotherhood, as to leave no distinction between ministers and people? how inconsistent is that with plain Scripture? but some of the people (saith he) must be admitted into the partnership of tyranny, but the preaching
Presbyter,

Presbyter, will sway all, with other such like passages, full of scorn and bitterness, which cannot have probability without making the people wittlesse, and the Minister without honesty, which insinuations as they discover his poysonous stomacke, so will they make him, not our government odious with the godly and intelligent Citizen.

But the fourth is yet more vile and Machivillian for the labours to work upon the corruptions of men to make them think that that order that is appointed for to keep the ordinance from pollution, and them from prophanation. is an infringement of just liberty: which is but a moderate restraint to Libertinisme, and itirs them to shake of Government; that they may use use sinfull wayes, without fear or check, nay he excites the lawyers too with feares of what may be. If this be not wicked Machivilianisme ther's none in the world. and I doubt not but the prudent Citizen will finde it with detestations of his Jesuiticall insinuations against wholesome and holy order: but what are these to the power and greatnesse of the City to moderate it, sure distemper hath made the man forget himselfe, and fit the bit for the wrong mouth.

But 5^y. he comes to the matter and begins to threaten, that if they doe any thing to hinder the union of interests between Royalist and Independent: then her greatnesse will begin to be suspected. That is, if they crosse, the designs of these, Saints they will rayle against them like &c. and doe their best to make them odious, and to set it on tels them of a secret whisper of wisemen, that is Independents of whom he said in his Preface, A word is enough to the wise.

But 6^y. he flies higher and threatens danger to the City wealth, if they make so much shew of it (That is to crosse Independent designs otherwise no danger) that the Priace or state which is jealous, may secure them, and feare the vast and unmeasurable Revenues of their Halls, as sometimes the Abbies, the reason being the same, for this is that, and much more pressing; here is not onely Machivilian policy, to keep them o^f from opposition by feares of what is deare. But I feare a worse snake in the grasse, even the hissing on the Prince to seize on such a prey, in which they may hope for a share after union of interests. Tantane animis caelestibus ira? The Abbots with their monkes being regulars were immediatly under the Pope, and exempt from the jurisdiction, of the Nation, and being the Popes creatures, advanc't his interest against the Nations, and so were justly look't on with an evill eye; but for the lying dead of their lands, that's a false suggestion, sith

Let it be demanded of Tenants, whether they had

they

rather hold of
Halls, Colledges
Hospitals, then
of private-
Landlords or
what the rea-
son is that
there is such
seeking to be
the immediate
tenants of
Halls &c. if
it be any pre-
judice to the
Commonalty.
And what use
do the severall
Halls of London
make of their
revenues, but
maintain their
decayed Mem-
bers or young
schollers at the
Univerſity, or
lecturers in
barren Coun-
tries, and ſuch
like; and can
they be rightly
deemed fit ob-
jects of rapine
and envy?

they could not be alienated, yet they were poſſeſt by leaſes, paſſable from man to man, which were little inferiour to free-land, and yet came at eaſie rates; ſo that the commonalty had more benefit by them, then after alienation of them to private lords: the maine reaſon then againſt Abbies, hath no place againſt the lands of Halls in the City, nor are they of ſuch vaſtneſſe as to be a juſt cauſe of grievance, or envy to any, but ſuch as are transported with malice, or prejudice, or greedines; after that which belongs to others.

Laſtly ſaith he, *ſith Presbytery is onely of the world*; before he ſaid, ſhe took in ſome of the wiſdome, and much of the power of the world, now ſhe is onely of the world, his tongue changes with his intereſt it ſeems. ſee pag. 11. *They may conſider how its like to thrive in the world*; if his aſſertion were true, well enough the world would love her owne, but they (ſaies he) greatly deſeſt it. And therefore if the City appeare for it, they ſhall be the onely Bandiers againſt the King and Independents, for the ſetting of a Government, which neither we nor our children ſhall be able to beare; yet Reformed Churches fathers and children have borne it, and then they ſhall bear the odium of a ſecond war: nay that I ſhould never counſell againſt the King, unleſſe the warrant had been clearer, or the ſucceſſe of this had been better for the publike; but I beleeve if the City ſhould ſtirre a new War and miſcarry, if ſuch ſpirits as this might have their way, *Tork ſhould be*, or any thing that might teſtifie revenge, for affronting them whom they ſhould have admired, if not adored; yet though I would not have the City to wage a new Warre, it may not be amiſſe for the City to ſtand upon her own guard, and not to lie at the devoyre of thoſe whoſe great oratours doe with ſuch dangerous and odious expreſſions lay her out as a moſt rich booty, ſometimes nothing will prevent warre or intolerable oppreſſion but preparation for it. And being in a poſture not to offend, but to defend her ſelfe; ſhe might be in a circumſtance on occaſion to reſcue or receive the King, and to maintaine him in his place once returned; if thoſe who cry him up for intereſt, ſhould upon change of intereſt prove dangerous to him. And alſo according to covenant, to defend the Parliament, if it ſhall appeare, that not the regulating but the deſtruction of it, or of any of the innocent members of it is ſought.

His concluſion is that the City ſhould ſtand newtrall &c. The Independents have helpt to put them on to petition againſt Episcopacy roote and branch, and to draw them into covenant to indeavour it, and

and not for feare, or any cause to decline to detestable newtrality, because then their interests lay that way; now because their interest lyes in union with Episcopacy, the City must sit still newtrall while Episcopacy is voted up; what a snare have they brought the poore people into? from such interest-mongers, good Lord deliver all sincere simple hearted people; for another war the Covenant will not ingage them, they are but to indeavour according to their callings, let them repent and pray, and use all morall meanes, and if after all, they must injoy the Gospel with tribulation. I dare assure them they will have more true comfort in their dearest suffering, then the Independents in their glorious union with those that they have hated, and indeavoured to persecute to the death. And thus I have gone through this book, of which I must confesse, I never saw more Policy, or lesse Honesty in so narrow a compasse.

Postscript.

What is here spoken against Independents is onely intended against such as are of this Pamphleteers judgement, whose Machivillian principles and plots, I beleeeve many sincere amongst them abhorre as well as my self, to whom I wish all happines, and would not injure nor expose to envy for the Errors of others.

FINIS.

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